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# SPEECH

OF

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE, OF WISCONSIN.

ON

HOMESTEADS FOR WHITE MEN IN THE TEMPERATE ZONE—HOMESTEADS FOR BLACK MEN IN THE TROPICS—WHITE IMMIGRATION TO AND BLACK EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED STATES—A CONTINENTAL POLICY, EMBRACING ALL CLIMES AND RACES. BRINGING FREEDOM AND HOMES TO ALL;

DELIVERED

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 11, 1862.

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WASHINGTON:  
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1862.



## SPEECH.

The Senate having under consideration the bill (S. No. 151) to confiscate the property and free the slaves of rebels, the pending question was on the motion of Mr. WILLEY to amend the third section so as to make it read:

That it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to make provision for the transportation, colonization, and settlement in some tropical country, beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of the African race made free by the provisions of this act, and also of all other persons of the African race who are now free in any of the United States as may be willing to emigrate, or who may be hereafter manumitted either by the voluntary act of individuals or by State authority for the purpose of being so transported, colonized, and settled, having first obtained the consent of the Government of said country to their protection and settlement within the same, with all the rights and privileges of freemen; and the sum of \$5,000,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be applied by the President in carrying into effect the provisions of this section—

Mr. DOOLITTLE said: Mr. President, before proceeding to the question upon which I design submitting some remarks, I shall now do what I have never done before in the Senate, and what I trust I shall never have occasion to do again—refer to a matter personal to myself. Some time ago, when the bill for emancipating the slaves in this District was pending here, the honorable Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DAVIS] moved an amendment to appropriate \$100,000 to colonize out of the limits of the United States all persons set free by the act. To that amendment I moved the following:

*And be it further enacted, That the sum of \$100,000, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, shall be expended under the direction of the President of the United States to aid in the colonization and settlement, with their own consent, of free people of color from said District in the republics of Hayti and Liberia, or elsewhere.*

I did so to extend its benefit to all free persons of color within the District: first, because I would not confine it to those only who would be liber-

ated under the act; and second—which was the more material point with me—because I would make that colonization voluntary, *with their own consent*, and not compulsory. On that occasion, I made the following remark, which I read from the Globe:

“The question being upon the amendment to the amendment.

“Mr. DOOLITTLE said: Mr. President, believing, as I do, that all men have a natural right to their liberty, and that Congress has exclusive legislative power in the District of Columbia, I am ready to give my vote to put an end to slavery here forever. But, sir, I cannot support the amendment proposed to this bill by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DAVIS] unless my amendment to it shall be adopted, and then I will give it my hearty support.”

This remark, that I would not support the amendment to the bill unless mine was adopted, was misapprehended, I have no doubt, by some of the reporters in the gallery who are permitted to take notes of our proceedings; and the New York Times, a journal of wide circulation and great influence, by mistake reported me as saying that I would not vote for the *bill itself* unless my amendment were adopted. I said no such thing, and I thought no such thing. That I thought it much wiser to join colonization with emancipation is true. I thought so then; I think so still, and will endeavor to demonstrate it before I close. This report of the Times has been quoted extensively by the press in my own State, and as it bears upon a question on which our people feel a deep interest, it has, without intending it, done injustice to my position.

While on this subject I will say a word also as to the course of the Chicago Tribune. This professed Republican journal has a wider circulation than any other in the Northwest. It circulates all over my State and wields a powerful influence there. Hundreds of copies are daily sold in my

own town, to my friends. In giving the account of the vote on that bill it stated that I voted against the bill for emancipation in this District. This is an entire mistake. I will say further, sir, that I am at a loss to account for the tone and conduct of that journal of late in some respects. One of its editors, as postmaster at Chicago, is receiving the patronage of the best office in the gift of a Republican Administration in the State of Illinois; annual patronage to the amount of perhaps five or six thousand dollars. I can very well understand how an unfriendly newspaper may be led to attack, misrepresent, and depreciate the standing, position, and action of its political opponents; but I do not understand how it is that a Republican journal receiving its support mainly from Republicans and from their Administration can, upon any considerations of principle, gratitude, friendship, or policy, intentionally or carelessly make such misrepresentations of the friends of the Administration as go into that journal. I do not refer to myself alone; I refer to men abler than myself; to men high in position and in the confidence of the Administration. Nor should I mention this if it was the first case in which that journal had misstated my position here as a Senator. If for any reason that journal supposes that by such a course it can influence my action here, or if the editor of a certain other professed Republican journal in my own State, whose name I will not speak, for it is not fit to be spoken in this Senate, supposes that he can intimidate me, or, baser still, levy black mail upon me to gain his silence or his support, or to change my action or restrain the free utterance of my convictions here or elsewhere, they do not know the man with whom they deal.

I know the great power and influence of the press. It is great for good, and great for evil, too. No man who would leave the legacy of a good name to his children can be insensible to its attacks. To every public man, in trying times like these, it is grateful to the heart to know that his course is approved by his countrymen, at least that it is not misrepresented by the press of his own political friends.

Sir, I have no money with which to purchase its favors, to pension correspondents, or pay for telegraphic dispatches—those purchased enclumens so often and so unworthily bestowed, by which great men and heroes are manufactured here, sometimes of very small and very poor material; and if I had the gold of California, I would not humiliate myself to make the purchase.

And I now say, once for all, I ask nothing of the press but the truth, and I take all the responsibility of my opinions, my action, and my votes.

Mr. President, I come now to the issue made with me by the honorable Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. HARRIS] in his speech yesterday on the subject of the possible colonization of the increase of the colored population of the United States. He more than once denounced colonization as a thing impossible, impracticable, and absurd, one of "the most absurd ideas that ever entered into the head of man or woman." Among other things he said:

"The great laws of nature and of Providence will go on. One of the laws of the condition of this class is, that they

increase faster than the whites. They have increased. They are to-day vastly exceeding in number the whole United States when they bade defiance to the power of the mightiest kingdom of the earth. They are here, and despite all your puny efforts they will remain here. They will increase. They will increase probably in about the ratio that they have increased. It will bother the wisest philosophy, it will set at naught even the philanthropy and wisdom of my friend from Wisconsin [Mr. DOOLITTLE] to meet it with any schemes looking to colonization in Central America, South America, or elsewhere."

He admitted that it might elevate the condition of a few, but stoutly denied that it could remove, in any possible degree, this black population, or materially retard their increase.

I stated yesterday that, as the Senator from New Hampshire was coming down to facts and figures, I desired to meet him. I then thought I might not occupy more than ten minutes in reply to him on this subject; but as my honorable friend from New York, [Mr. HARRIS] to whom the floor would be assigned to-day, is detained by sickness, I will ask the indulgence of the Senate while I shall state the facts and figures a little more in detail than I expected to do last evening.

Mr. President, I regret exceedingly that the honorable Senator from New Hampshire, after the usual motion made by him on Friday to adjourn over Saturday until Monday, is not now present in the Senate. I should be glad if he were here, especially after giving him notice last evening as I did, that as he was coming down to history, geography, and arithmetic, I desired to cipher with him a little on this question. It is not very often that I have an opportunity to meet that honorable gentleman upon equal terms. In the matter of rhetoric, figures of speech, wit and humor; in that magnetic power of voice and manner which can change at once from the grave and serious to the humorous and joyous; which almost at the same moment can dissolve us in tears and convulse us with laughter; in that power of declamation which he knows so well how to use, to influence the minds and move the passions of mankind, I am by no means the equal of the honorable Senator from New Hampshire. I yield to his great superiority at once. But, sir, when we come down to facts and figures, when I can bring him to the blackboard, when I can be permitted to open the book of history, take down the map of the world, and look at geography and climate and men and races, then I feel that I can meet the honorable Senator from New Hampshire on equal terms. As I have him there now, I propose to cipher at the blackboard, even in his absence, as I gave him notice last evening I would cipher with him on this question to-day. It is my purpose to confine myself to the great issue between us: is the colonization of a number equal to or greater than the annual increase of the colored population to tropical countries, first of all,

#### A THING POSSIBLE?

I propose to look into the tables and see what that annual increase is. I have before me a table carefully prepared by the chief of the Census Bureau. In looking into that you will find what I have briefly abstracted, showing the rate per cent. of increase, in columns, during each decade pre-

ceding the year mentioned in the column of years, as follows:

Decade ending in the years—	Increase per cent. of whites.	Increase per cent. of slaves.	Increase per cent. of free colored.	Increase per cent. of total population.
1800	35.68	27.97	82.28	35.02
1810	36.18	33.40	72.00	36.45
1820	34.11	28.79	25.23	33.13
1830	34.03	30.61	36.87	33.49
1840	34.72	23.81	20.87	32.67
1850	37.71	28.82	12.46	35.87
1860	38.12	23.38	10.97	35.58

In the decade ending in 1800, that is for the ten years between 1790 and 1800, the increase of whites was 35.68 per cent.; the increase of slaves 27.97 per cent.; the increase of free colored persons 82.28 per cent.; the total increase of population 35.02 per cent. During that period manumissions were very extensive. From 1800 to 1810, the increase of whites was 36.18 per cent., of slaves 33.40 per cent., (but during most of this period the slave trade went on, and we also acquired Louisiana with its slaves,) and of the free colored people 72 per cent.; total increase 36.45 per cent. From 1810 to 1820, the increase of the whites was 34.11 per cent., of slaves 28.79 per cent., (we acquired Florida about 1819, with its slaves,) and of the free colored 25.23 per cent.; total, 33.13 per cent. From 1820 to 1830, the increase of the whites was 34.03 per cent., of the slaves 30.61 per cent., and of the free colored 36.87 per cent.; total, 33.49 per cent. For the decade ending in 1840, the increase of the whites was 34.72 per cent., of the slaves but 23.81 per cent., of the free colored 20.87 per cent.; total, 32.67 per cent. For the decade ending in 1850, the increase of whites was 37.71 per cent., of slaves 28.82 per cent., (but during this period Texas was annexed with its slaves, increasing the rate per cent.,) that of free colored but 12.46 per cent.; total, 35.87 per cent. For the decade ending in 1860, which has just closed, the increase of whites was 38.12 per cent., of slaves 23.38 per cent., of free colored 10.97 per cent.; total, 35.58 per cent. The only increase, therefore, of the slave population during the last decade of ten years has been 23.38 per cent., or a little more than 2.3 per cent. per annum. The increase of the free colored population during the same period of ten years is 10.97 per cent., being at the rate of a little over one per cent. per annum, while the increase of the slave population is 2.3 per cent., almost 2.4 per cent.; making the annual increase of four millions of slaves, 93,520. That would be the increase for the last year of the decade, taking the number of slaves to be, in round numbers, four millions.

Now, Mr. President, six steamships of a large class, or indeed one single monster ship like the Great Eastern, carrying 12,000 passengers, would take "a number" equal to all the increase of the slaves in eight trips per annum to Liberia. This would give about six weeks for the round trip, to go to Africa and return. Yes, sir; eight trips only of that one ship, or of the six large class

steamers I have supposed, would take away the whole increase. If, instead of going to Africa, those trips should be made from New York to the island of San Domingo, which could easily be done semi-monthly, she alone would carry more than three times the number of the annual increase of the 1,000,000 of slaves. The six steamships would do the same.

If instead of being shipped from New York to San Domingo, they should, in the progress of events, go from the city of New Orleans to Vera Cruz, Yucatan or Honduras, or from South Carolina and Georgia to San Domingo, or nearer still, when, in the progress of events, the island of Cuba shall become, as it may, like Hayti, the home of the tropical race, those trips could be made every week, and this one ship or those six large steamships, making weekly trips, could carry from the United States 624,000 persons annually. I beg to call the attention of Senators to these figures. I would that the Senator from New Hampshire were here at the blackboard with us now. The ciphers show this result, that (that one ship alone, or the six ships supposed, could carry seven times the increase of this population in the United States every year. The first year they would carry the increase of 93,520; and in addition to that 520,500, leaving but 3,480,090 of slaves in the United States. The second year these same trips would carry the increase, which would then only be 81,362, and besides the increase, would carry 542,638, leaving but 2,937,362. The third year these same trips could carry the increase, which would then be reduced to only 68,667, and 556,333 besides, leaving only 2,382,929. The fourth year these same trips would carry the increase, which would then be but 55,686, and also carry 568,314, leaving within the United States but 1,814,605. The fifth year these same trips would carry the increase, then reduced to 42,411, and besides the increase could carry 571,589, leaving but 1,243,194. The sixth year the same trips could carry the increase, then reduced to only 29,061, and besides the increase, carry 594,939, leaving but 648,255 in the United States. The seventh year—yes, sir, the seventh year—this single ship, or these six steamships of large class which I have supposed, making weekly trips, could carry not only the increase, then reduced down to 15,150, but besides the increase could carry 608,850, leaving less than 40,000 of the slave population within the United States.

This calculation has been made upon the assumption that colonization commenced at the end of the last decade when the census was taken.

I will also avail myself of the following carefully prepared tables working out this problem upon two other suppositions, made by Mr. Robert Patterson, of Philadelphia:

"In the tables following I have assumed as the annual number to be deported, 150,000 and 350,000, and allowing for the natural increase of the population remaining, from year to year, I have calculated the progressive decrease of the slaves. It will be seen that, by an annual deportation of 150,000, miscellaneous selected, the last remnant of the slave population would be removed by the year 1907. At the larger rate of 350,000,

the removal would be complete in 1877. The aggregate number removed by the first supposition would be 6,470,000, distributed over a period of forty-five years; by the second it would be 4,920,000 in fifteen years:

*Table showing the progressive decrease of the slave population of the United States, assuming that 150,000 of miscellaneous selection are deported annually, beginning with the year 1862.*

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1862.....	4,181,000	1885.....	2,513,000
1863.....	4,125,000	1886.....	2,419,000
1864.....	4,068,000	1887.....	2,324,000
1865.....	4,009,000	1888.....	2,226,000
1866.....	3,949,000	1889.....	2,126,000
1867.....	3,887,000	1890.....	2,023,000
1868.....	3,825,000	1891.....	1,919,000
1869.....	3,760,000	1892.....	1,812,000
1870.....	3,695,000	1893.....	1,699,000
1871.....	3,627,000	1894.....	1,586,000
1872.....	3,559,000	1895.....	1,472,000
1873.....	3,489,000	1896.....	1,355,000
1874.....	3,417,000	1897.....	1,235,000
1875.....	3,344,000	1898.....	1,113,000
1876.....	3,269,000	1899.....	988,000
1877.....	3,192,000	1900.....	860,000
1878.....	3,113,000	1901.....	759,000
1879.....	3,033,000	1902.....	596,000
1880.....	2,951,000	1903.....	459,000
1881.....	2,867,000	1904.....	329,000
1882.....	2,782,000	1905.....	177,000
1883.....	2,694,000	1906.....	30,000
1884.....	2,604,000	1907.....	0

*Table showing the progressive decrease of the slave population of the United States, assuming that 350,000 of miscellaneous selection are deported annually, beginning with the year 1862.*

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1862.....	4,181,000	1870.....	1,963,000
1863.....	3,825,000	1871.....	1,657,000
1864.....	3,463,000	1872.....	1,345,000
1865.....	3,305,000	1873.....	1,025,000
1866.....	3,122,000	1874.....	698,000
1867.....	2,922,000	1875.....	363,000
1868.....	2,555,000	1876.....	21,000
1869.....	1,233,000	1877.....	0

Mr. President, I wish I had the Senator at the blackboard with me. These figures tell the story, and they answer all his high-sounding declamation about the impossibility of colonizing the annual increase of this race from the United States to the West Indies, Central or South America, or ever to Africa.

I had occasion some two or three sessions since to ask another Senator to work out a problem at the blackboard—I refer to Mason, of Virginia. He had been denouncing, in terms both loud and deep, the immense loss Virginia sustained by the escape of fugitive slaves. He said Virginia lost every year \$100,000. But what did the ciphers show? Upon the assumption that she had five hundred thousand slaves, valued then at \$800 each, their value would be \$400,000,000, upon which a loss of \$100,000, or of the four thousandth part, would be only a quarter of a mill on a dollar, or one fortieth of one per cent. The result of this ciphering was stated; the loss was so small, so insignificant, so utterly contemptible, that I do not remember to have heard the loss of property in slaves escaping from Virginia ever mentioned again here until after the beginning of this rebellion.

But to return, sir; let us look at the possibility of colonization in another point of view. The

declaration is so often made that all the navies of the world could not accomplish it, I will work out another problem. The tonnage of the United States in sailing vessels is six million five hundred and nineteen thousand one hundred and seventy-one tons, and the steam tonnage is eight hundred and thirty thousand eight hundred and eighty-five tons. I have before me a table prepared at the State Department, to which I refer for authority; but I will not now take time to read it. It shows, I repeat, that our whole tonnage is seven millions three hundred and fifty thousand and sixty tons. The law on the subject of carrying passengers provides that there shall not be carried upon vessels—

“A greater number of passengers than in the proportion of one to every two tons of such vessel, not including children under the age of one year in the computation; and that two children over one and under eight years of age shall be computed as one passenger.”

If we were to rate the capacity of the tonnage of the United States, according to this law, to carry passengers, making this reduction on account of children under eight years of age, one single trip of all the vessels of the United States would take the whole of this population. This is, of course, an extreme case. I put it as such, simply to show the immense carrying capacity of our mercantile marine.

But, Mr. President, there is another problem that I propose to examine on the blackboard. These tables, from which I have read, demonstrate that the free negro population of the United States does not increase one half as fast as the slave population. With all the manumissions added, with all the fugitives that escape to the free States, with all that, I repeat the important fact—I really wish that Senator was here to cipher with it—that the increase of the free colored population is not one half of the increase per cent. of the slave population. From 1840 to 1850, as I have already stated, it was but 12.46 per cent., or at the rate of 1.25 per cent. annually. In the decade from 1850 to 1860, it was but 10.97 per cent., or a little less than 1.1 per cent. annually. I shall not go into any long statement of the reasons which produce this great difference between the amount of increase of the free colored and the slave population. It is enough to say that in a state of freedom, from motives of prudence, or from other cause, they do not marry as early; and for some reasons there may be more deaths among their children. In slavery, where the increase of offspring is an increase of wealth, the master, from self-interest, does all in his power both to encourage and protect it.

On this point I will refer to an address made not long since by a gentleman now of this city, formerly of Maine, George M. Weston, Esq. His work on the progress of slavery in the United States, I believe, contains more facts, more statistics, and gives more information than any other book I have ever seen on the subject. I refer to his statements in that address, therefore, with great confidence in their accuracy. I have derived many facts and figures and valuable suggestions from it, and I feel called upon to give him my thanks, while I freely avail myself of them. He says,



speaking of this difference in the increase of free colored and slaves:

"It is by no means to be assumed, from the fact that the free negroes, in the small numbers in which they have existed in this country during the last twenty years, have exhibited some little natural increase, that the entire African race existing among us would increase in the condition of freedom. On the contrary, as we know that the education and capacity to provide for themselves and families, of those who are now free, much exceed what is found among those now enslaved, we must conclude that if those now free increase but slowly, if at all, those who are now enslaved would positively diminish if they were emancipated."

What are the facts? In that section of the United States where the highest intellectual, moral, and religious culture is attained; where the laws are better observed than in any other; where the free colored man has been longest free, and admitted to the most civil, political, and social rights; where there are more humane asylums for every species of the unfortunate than anywhere in the world; where no human being is obliged to go without shelter, food, or raiment; where his offspring would be best provided for, there, with all his natural increase, with all manumissions, and escaped fugitives, the increase of the free colored man from 1840 to 1850 was less than 0.25 per cent. per annum, and from 1850 to 1860, less than 0.50 per cent. per annum. I quote again:

"In New England, from 1840 to 1850, the colored race increased a fraction less than two per cent.; from 1850 to 1860, a fraction more than four per cent.; and in the half century, from 1810 to 1860, only twenty per cent., or one fifth.

"The increase of free colored persons in this country, from 1850 to 1860, was at the following rates:

	<i>Per cent.</i>
In the free States.....	12.96
In the slave States.....	8.69
In all the States.....	10.68

"In the aggregate, the increase was from 424,390 to 469,709, which is a gain of 45,319, or, as before stated, of 10.68 per cent. How much of it is by natural increase may be determined with proximate, although not exact, accuracy.

"The number of slaves becoming free by escape was, in 1850, by the census of that year, 1,011, and in 1860, by the census of that year, 803. By averaging those numbers, we have for the whole decade 9,070, which is at least equal to all the colored persons who have left the country within that time. There was scarce any emigration of that kind prior to the census of 1860, except of the fugitive slaves themselves, who seek Canada as a place of refuge. From 1829 to 1852, a period of thirty-two years, only 2,720 free colored persons had left all the States for Liberia. Of late, there has been some emigration of such persons to Mexico and the West India Islands, to avoid the stringency of the severe legislation against free negroes in some of the slave States. But without going into unnecessary niceties of calculation, it is apparent that the escapes from slavery during the decade from 1850 will not only balance all the colored emigration of free persons, but also the number of such persons reduced to slavery by kidnapping, or by those modern laws of some of the States under which free persons are occasionally sold into the condition of servitude.

"There remains, then, to be deducted from the increase of the free colored, in order to determine their natural increase, the number gained by manumissions. These amounted, in 1850, by the census of that year, to 1,467, and in 1860, by the census of that year, to 3,010. By averaging those numbers, we have for the whole decade 22,380 as the sum total of manumissions, which reduces the gain of the free colored population by natural increase to 22,939, which is five and two fifths per cent. This is between one fourth and one fifth of the natural increase of the slaves, which was quite twenty-four and one half per cent., namely, twenty-three and one half per cent., as exhibited by the census, and one per cent. lost by escapes and manumissions.

"This small natural increase of the free colored race, as

compared with either the slave or the white population, has, of course, always been known to statisticians. It is easily demonstrated as a matter of actual figures, and the causes of it are not obscure; but neither the fact itself nor the legitimate inferences from it have been sufficiently insisted upon, or attracted the attention they deserve."

But there is another grave matter bearing upon the subject of this increase. If in New England where most favored by law and by public sentiment, his natural increase is so small, how would it be in those States where the conflict of race, or, if you please, caste and prejudice, is so strong? What would be his increase there in a state of freedom? Jefferson declared it impossible for the two races in large numbers to remain together without conflict, equally free. Such is the opinion of all southern men, slaveholders and non-slaveholders. The Senators from Kentucky and Virginia tell us that it would lead to a conflict of race, and probably to the destruction of the weaker race. I do not justify this conflict; I speak of facts existing. We must, as statesmen, deal with things as they are, and not assume them to be as we would have them. I am dealing with facts and not fancies, and would address myself to men who think and not dream—to wise men, and not mere poets or orators.

Senators, we are compelled to regard, as facts bearing upon what will or will not occur, or what should or should not be done, the feelings and the prejudices of mankind. Ay, sir, these prejudices are facts, stubborn, ugly facts, which cannot be ignored. From that "irrepressible conflict"—call it what you will—of race, caste, or prejudice, is it not altogether probable that there would be little, if any, increase to the colored population in the United States if they were all now as free as they are in New England? On the other hand, Mr. Weston says:

"It is slavery, and nothing else, which multiplies the negro in the United States. There are no mounds, and no widows, among slaves. From the time that the capacity to bear children begins with their women, to the time when it ends, it is in full activity, and as if the natural passion stimulating that function, (unrestrained as it is in the case of the slave by moral or prudential considerations,) was not sufficient for the avarice of masters, who see an increase of their wealth in an increase of their human stock, it is further stimulated by rewards and promises of reward."

Now, Mr. President, here is precisely the point where I should like to bring the Senator to the blackboard again. Let us suppose that the slaves were all emancipated, and that they were placed under as good circumstances as they now are in New England, or Wisconsin, or any of the States where they are accepted with the most favor and with the least objection, do not these census returns, with their inexorable logic of figures, show that, like the Indian race, they dwindle and dwarf in the presence of the white man; that under most favorable conditions their increase would not exceed ten per cent. in a decade, or one per cent. annually. One per cent. upon four millions is but forty thousand. If the annual increase would be only forty thousand, where is the Senator's position now? That Senator, the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the Senate of the United States, denouncing colonization as the most absurd idea that ever entered the head of man or woman, a thing not to be thought of for a mo-

ment, because it is beyond the power of all philanthropy and all legislation and of our Navy to carry away the future increase of this population in the United States, which, with emancipation, would fall at once from twenty-three to ten per cent. per decade, from ninety-three thousand five hundred annual increase to forty thousand! Sir, two first-class steamers from the city of New Orleans, and two from Charleston, or rather Port Royal—for Charleston as a commercial city may be among the things that were, and Beaufort become the future emporium of that State—these four steamers, making their trips to the West Indies and to the countries just across the Gulf, would carry the whole increase of this population from the United States twice told. It being now demonstrated that the colonization of more than the annual increase is a possible thing, I next inquire,

#### IS IT PRACTICABLE?

Here is another problem in figures applied to history, to which I would call the attention of the Senator from New Hampshire. Previous to 1850, the annual importation of slaves by the slave trade from Africa into America, including Cuba, was from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand; and since that time, when by the armed forces of Great Britain, the slave trade to Brazil was broken up, the annual importation of slaves into Cuba now, from 1850 to 1860, has been at the rate of fifty thousand every year. The number annually stolen from Africa, brought by violence three thousand miles across the sea to Cuba and sold there, in spite of treaties, in spite of the fleets of Great Britain, France, and the United States, is ten thousand more than the whole increase of the colored population of the United States would be if they were now emancipated.

If, in spite of treaties, if under the ban of piracy, with the halter on their necks, moved by base cupidity alone, a few obscure and outlawed men, in face of the armed ships of the three greatest commercial Powers of the world, can bring fifty thousand slaves three thousand miles to Cuba, cannot a great nation, in the interests of freedom, humanity, and the glory of all mankind, colonize annually forty thousand men in the best and richest countries in the world, lying almost at its feet?

But, Mr. President, it may be said that these are mere arithmetical problems, built up on suppositions, on figures only. I propose, sir, to call the attention of the Senate for a short time to some facts that have transpired in relation to the great voluntary migrations of the human family. I shall not dwell upon the migration of the people of Israel to the land of Canaan, by which from three to four millions of people were taken out at one time from the land of Egypt, their house of bondage, to Palestine. My friend [Mr. WILMOT] shakes his head. Has he ever gone into the figures?

Mr. WILMOT. No, sir. There were about six hundred thousand; that was all.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. That my friend has not gone into the figures is very evident. I have. There were six hundred thousand men, besides their wives and children.

Mr. FOSTER. Fighting men.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. "Fighting men," my hon-

orable friend from Connecticut says. Figure upon that! There undoubtedly are not less voters in a community under our system than there were fighting men in Israel, and it is safe to calculate six or seven persons to one voter upon the average; so that, if the fighting men were 600,000, multiply the number by six, and you have 3,600,000, or by seven, and you will have 4,200,000. But, sir, as I said, I do not propose to dwell upon that case. It may be said, and truly said, they were led out in the midst of great and miraculous events under special superintendence of the Most High, who appeared as a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, leading them through the Red sea, feeding them by miracles in the wilderness, and carrying them safely through at last to the land of Canaan.

When I remember, however, the terrible judgments upon the Egyptians for refusing to allow the children of Israel to go out of Egypt, to their promised land, I cannot but remember that in this country there are two extremes of opinion, both meeting in the same thing. The fanatical devotees of slavery, and the *par excellence* friends of immediate abolition, join in denouncing colonization, the most practicable mode of removing this down-trodden race from their house of bondage to their promised land.

But, sir, there have been other great migrations mentioned in history. During the decline of the Roman empire, its provinces were overrun by those great swarms of emigrants from the northern hives. They came not in regularly organized armies, but as whole peoples, with their wives and children like great overflowing floods, bearing down the armies of the empire, and sweeping all in their way, spreading themselves everywhere, taking possession of whole countries and peoples, and subjecting the luxurious and degenerate citizens of Rome to the dominion of greater and stronger men from the north of Europe and Asia. I am reminded of those migrations in some respects by what we now witness going on in our own midst. We behold six hundred thousand strong men from the northern States overflowing into these beautiful regions. They have come at the call of their country, not as invaders, but as protectors, to maintain the Union and the Constitution. They have come to stand side by side with the loyal Union-loving men of the South, to fight for their homes and their firesides, to defend them against secession and treason and military despotism; but I say to our friends there, I believe, as I believe in my existence, many, many, if not most, have come to stay. They are falling in love with your goodly lands in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. True to their Anglo-Saxon instincts for land, they are going to take possession of them, not by force, not by depriving any loyal citizen of his rights, but by peaceful purchase. When peace comes again, many will send for their wives and children, and make their homes with you forever. Those who have no wives will marry your daughters. I am informed that in one of the Wisconsin regiments, stationed nearly a year in Maryland, seventy young soldiers were married to the girls of Maryland. Surely that is "reconstructing the Union" upon

lasting foundations. These men will join with you to regenerate and redeem States like old Virginia. How sad the decline into which she has fallen from the fatal mistake of following after the new dogmas of Calhoun, instead of holding fast to the ideas of her own great Jefferson! from fostering and encouraging slavery as a blessing, instead of throwing it off as a curse! from tilling her soil by half a million of negro slaves, instead of developing all her resources by the free and energetic toil of what she might have had in their places, two millions of free white men! Sir, she is yet to recover. Young Virginia, already represented on this floor, holding once more the same enlarged views upon slavery and upon all other questions, which were entertained by Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, by all the men of the earlier, and, as some say, the better days of the Republic, aided by the influx of these thousands from the North, bringing with them the same ideas which Virginia, through her great men, taught them, will regenerate herself, and become in one or two generations what she might have been now but for this accursed institution. Notwithstanding what her traitorous sons have done, notwithstanding what her Floyds and Masons and Hunters, following the evil teachings of Calhoun, have done, to mislead her people and carry them into this rebellion; notwithstanding her wretched and despicable condition now, still, in spite of all this, for what she once was, and for what she is yet to be, I shall speak of her always with feelings of gratitude and respect. Besides, sir, Wisconsin was born of Virginia. She was her youngest born. But I thank God that she was born of her in the days of her greatness: when the ideas of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, and not the ideas of Calhoun and his followers, led her councils; when Virginia loved liberty more than she loved slavery; when Virginia, feeling the curse of slavery upon herself, by the great law of maternity stamped upon her offspring—the great Northwest—her own love of liberty and her own hatred against slavery forever. The debt of gratitude which Wisconsin and all the Northwest owes to Virginia for that great deed, and but for which the same blighting curse would now rest upon the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, no language can express and no gratitude can repay. Oh, what a change has taken place since she has been seduced by listening to Calhoun's suggestion, and said to herself—

"Slavery thou art my blessing,  
From henceforth evil be thou my good."

"Oh, what a fall was there, my countrymen!" from Washington down to Wise! from Jefferson to Hunter! from Mason of the Revolution, the grandfather, down to Mason the degenerate and traitorous grandson! But I will not give up Virginia yet. I believe in the resurrection and the life. I expect to see her rise again; to hear her speak again the language of Washington and of Jefferson and of Madison. I think I hear it even now sometimes. I think I shall see her once more, looking, hoping, praying, for emancipation, that God in his own good time will enable her to get rid of that institution which has been a curse and a blight upon her, which has reduced her from

her high position as the empire State of the Union to a fourth or a fifth class State, in power and in population.

And, sir, I must say that I listened with pain to some remarks that fell from our friends on this side of the Chamber yesterday, in addressing themselves to the honorable Senator from Virginia, [Mr. WILEY.] When that Senator tells us that he has of his own means spent more money in emancipating slaves than I am worth three times over; when he tells us that by his efforts, and the efforts of Mr. Botts, of Virginia, who now lies in jail confined as a Union man, because he will stand by the flag of the Union, his State was prevented from adopting into its constitution a clause banishing forever or reenslaving the whole free colored population of that State; when he tells us that, and says that he is willing to sacrifice all he has, even life itself, for the Union and the Constitution, I am pained to hear Senators address him in any other language than that of kindness and respect. Sir, if he differs from me in some views on slavery or anything else, so long as his heart beats true to the flag, and his foot keeps step to the music of the Union; so long as he has given evidence of his devotion to the cause of emancipation by great self-sacrifice; so long as he has stood up in his own State, where it required both physical and moral courage to stand up, for the truth and for the rights of this poor oppressed race, I will honor him, and I will give him the hand of friendship, and tell him, thank God, and take courage, better times are coming to us and to the Republic. Sir, beyond this storm of war, and all the blood and agony and tears it brings, I see the dawning of a better day rising upon this Republic. We are to be restored to the good old ideas and good old ways of the fathers who achieved our liberties, founded our Government, and administered it with such success for three generations.

But, Mr. President, I beg pardon for this digression, into which I have been drawn unexpectedly to myself. I will return at once to the question, for I desire this day to deal in nothing but facts and figures.

I pass over the great migration of the children of Israel to Palestine—I dwell no longer upon the great migrations of the northern barbarians when they overran the Roman empire—I come down to our own time, to what we have seen in our own day and generation. Take for instance the migrations from Great Britain, with a population of 28,000,000. In the ten years, from 1847 to 1856, inclusive, 2,800,000 persons migrated from Great Britain and Ireland, none of them on voyages shorter than that across the broad expanse of the stormy Atlantic, many of them to the southern extremity of Africa—the utmost verge of the real or fabled circumnavigation of Hanno—and still more, over a distance equal to two thirds of the circuit of the globe, to the antipodal regions of Australasia. This emigration from a population averaging 28,000,000, during the term of their movement, would only be equaled, proportional numbers being taken into the account, by an emigration from this country of 3,700,000 during the ten years to come. In the eight years, from 1847

to 1854, inclusive, this migration from Great Britain and Ireland, numbered 2,444,800 persons, which is at a rate still more rapid.

But I call special attention to the case of Ireland, the green isle of Erin. The total Irish emigration for the six years, from 1847 to 1852, inclusive, was 1,313,226. (Thirtieth General Report of British Commissioners of Emigration.) In 1854, it was 150,209. Assuming for 1853 an emigration of 187,603, which is the mean of the emigration for the years 1852 and 1854, we have for the eight years, from 1847 to 1854, inclusive, a total emigration of 1,681,359. Taking the average population of Ireland from 1847 to 1854, at the 6,500,000 of the census of 1851, the emigration in that period of eight years was more than one fourth of the population. A proportional emigration from the United States for eight years to come would be 9,000,000. And the American people are a rich, commercial, and navigating people, while the Irish were poor to a proverb, and so little of a navigating people, that the bulk of their emigrants were absolutely obliged to make one voyage across the Irish channel, at least half as much of an undertaking as it would be to go from New Orleans across the Gulf, to find a port affording the necessary facilities for their final exodus.

This case of Irish emigration from 1847 to 1854, which includes the period of a too well remembered famine, is an extreme one; but it is always extreme cases which show what is possible to be done. And if the case is extreme, so it proves altogether more than is necessary to be proved in the matter on hand, as nobody supposes that it can be necessary or desirable to colonize the whole of our colored population in eight years, if at all; and if it was, the Irish example shows that we could colonize within that term twice as many colored people as we actually have, slave and free.

But again, sir, here is a problem to which I should ask the Senator's attention if he were here at the blackboard. Here is a problem in the rule of three. If 6,500,000 poor people, not a navigating people, can emigrate—for voluntary colonization is emigration—1,600,000, three thousand miles across the Atlantic in eight years, how many could 30,000,000 of people emigrate but six hundred or one thousand miles in the same time?

Mr. COWAN. That is the double rule of three. [Laughter.]

Mr. DOOLITTLE. So it is. It involves both time and distance as well as population.

Again, sir, from September 30, 1843, to December 31, 1856, there arrived in the United States from foreign countries, 3,635,460 persons, Germany being the principal contributor next after the British empire to this vast immigration. In thirteen years, therefore, by the voluntary emigration mainly of the poor and oppressed people of Europe of our own race to the United States, we have received a population almost equal to the whole number of slaves within the United States.

Mr. FOSTER. And they came in sailing ships.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. As my honorable friend remarks, they came in sailing ships, too.

Mr. President, I have another problem. It is estimated that ten times the present number of all the slaves in the United States have been stolen

from Africa and brought to the continent of America to be sold as slaves; yes, sir, 40,000,000; ten times the present number of all the slaves in the United States. The Encyclopedia Americana says that the number of negroes brought by the slave trade has been "calculated to amount during the last three centuries to above 40,000,000." Cannot the annual increase of 93,500, the rate in which they increase as slaves, or 40,000, the rate at which they increase in the condition of freedom, emigrate from the United States if they are willing and desire to go, and that too, not across the Atlantic, but just across the Gulf of Mexico, or into the islands in the Gulf or the Caribbean sea? All these figures demonstrate with mathematical certainty the ease with which any amount of colonization of our colored people, which can be considered to be necessary in order to render emancipation safe and acceptable, can be managed. The fullness of time has arrived, in our numbers, in our abounding wealth, in the vast improvements in the safety, cheapness, and comfort with which seas are traversed, and finally in the various choice of regions to which the colored race may be deported. The longest voyage is back to that continent from which ten times as many as we have now in this country have been dragged by violence, while available and substantially unoccupied areas, in close proximity to us, already invite this species of immigration.

The question now arises,

#### HOW FAR IS COLONIZATION DESIRABLE?

It is not to be expected that the whole of this population is suddenly or perhaps ever to be colonized out of the United States; no man ever dreamed of such a thing. But if a number equal to the annual increase, and a little more, could be colonized or induced to emigrate to a country far better for themselves than to remain here, so that the people of the slave States shall see the amount of this population diminishing instead of increasing, and their white population increasing and not diminishing, they will become satisfied to have emancipation begin in their States. It will be in their estimation no longer an impossible nor an improbable thing, even in the slave States where the most slaves exist. The idea, the hope of colonization, therefore, will aid emancipation in all the slave States.

Mr. President, for myself, I favor emancipation wherever I have constitutional power, because it will give freedom to this race. Besides, sir, emancipation will aid colonization. They will practically aid and sustain each other, and therefore I favor both. But I urge my friends who desire to see emancipation to favor colonization, because I believe that idea is necessary in order to allow an emancipation party to arise and sustain itself among the people of the States where slavery now exists. They tell me, sir, the Senator from Virginia, the Senator from Kentucky, every Senator coming from these States, and every man, woman, and child who comes from these States, tells me that it is utterly impossible for them to talk of emancipation within any slave State without connecting with it the idea of colonization. Can there be a party and nobody belong to it?

When all the people residing in those States tell us that it is an absolute necessity in order to get their people—I do not mean the rebels, but the Union-loving people who are pouring out their blood like water to defend the Union and the Constitution—to consider the question of emancipation of slaves, or take hold of that question, or act upon it, or even speak of it, that they connect with it the idea of colonization; shall we not allow them to do so? That is the question.

I should rejoice in my whole soul to see both. There never has been an hour in my life when on this subject of human slavery all there is manly within me did not rise against it; when every power placed in my hands constitutionally I would not be willing to exercise in order to do away with it everywhere throughout the whole earth. Everywhere I would give universal liberty to universal man. But I believe that these questions of emancipation and colonization are so connected together in those States where slavery now exists, that it is next to impossible for the friends of emancipation there to get a hearing by the people of those States, much less to proceed with emancipation, without discussing and carrying forward at the same time a system of generous colonization of the emancipated people to some country beyond the jurisdiction of the United States.

#### IT IS GOOD ECONOMY

to plant colonies.

It is not necessary to expend any very large sums of money, especially in the initiation of this policy. I will say that one half the amount we annually expend in taking care of the Indians—the Indian appropriation bill now pending proposes to appropriate \$1,700,000, and the additional estimates of the Secretary of the Interior are about \$1,500,000 more, making in all \$3,200,000—the expenditure of one half the amount which we make for the Indian race would open the way and organize a system. It would lay the foundations for a great, free, voluntary, and, in great measure, a self-sustaining colonization for these people from this country, which would take them to countries better adapted to them, to which they will go by hundreds of thousands, for the same reason that the Irish and the Germans and other people of Europe come to the United States—to seek a better home, where they can make more money and enjoy better privileges and make more rapid advancement for themselves and for their children.

Besides, Mr. President, looking at this as an economical question, it is not only not necessary to expend any very large sums of money, but I think I could show that even a large amount expended in this way might be made to subserve the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests of the country. The judicious expenditure of one, two, three, or five millions of dollars by the Government of the United States in planting colonies all along the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean sea, in Vera Cruz, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, the Balize, Venezuela, as well as in Hayti and San Domingo, and all the islands of the Gulf and the Caribbean sea, would be a great and valuable investment, bringing rich returns to the people of the United States in the commerce

it would build up there. Our commerce with the single republic of Hayti now stands, I believe, twenty-first in the whole list of our commercial relations with the civilized Powers of the earth. The republic of Hayti offers to these people, if they are unable to pay the expense of their own emigration, to bear that expense for them; and it offers to give them employment, and offers to give them homesteads; over two thousand have accepted these offers, and have voluntarily, upon their own account, gone there. San Domingo alone, it is estimated, is capable, if it should be populated as the island of Barbadoes is, of holding thirty millions of these people. There is no mistake about it. If my friend who shakes his head in doubt [Mr. Wilmot] will go to the figures he will see it. I shall not take time now to go to the blackboard again, but if he will cipher it out he will find it so. If the island of San Domingo was no more thickly populated than is Porto Rico to the square mile, it would take the whole of our present colored population.

But, sir, that island is but a speck on the map compared with those immense regions waiting for them, and which it would seem as if the Almighty had reserved for them. I wish to call the attention of the Senate to some facts bearing on this, for my attention, perhaps, has been more drawn to it than that of some other Senators. Take down the map. Here is Mexico, which stands ready to form a treaty with us to-day, by which she will give homesteads in any of her States to these people, if they will go there. Down the coast, near Tampico, they have gone out from New Orleans, on their own account, and have built up a flourishing colony. See, there lies Yucatan, which comes up as a peninsula right into the Gulf of Mexico. There is the small island of Cozumel, about twenty miles square, which we could probably purchase, make it a coaling station for the United States and a good harbor for us, and a depot for carrying out a system of colonization in the Mexican States. Mexico is capable of receiving, and willing to receive, any amount of this population. Besides, sir, coming nearer home, right adjoining Texas there lies Tamaulipas. As the rebels recede before our advancing armies, they may flee with many of their slaves into Texas, perhaps. From Texas they have only to cross a river to get into Mexico.

Look along down the Gulf. Vera Cruz has nearly six hundred miles of coast where the colony below Tampico, to which I have referred, already exists. Then there is Tehuantepec, with a hundred miles of coast and a route across from the Gulf to the Pacific ocean. Then there is Tamasco, with two hundred miles of coast; Yucatan, with probably more than one thousand; Balize, Guatemala, with five hundred miles of coast and the beautiful Gulf of Honduras. I beg to say in relation to Guatemala, that the president of that State offers to give his own hacienda to these people if they go there, and further, pledges his influence for legislation in their favor, giving homesteads to all who choose to go there, in a country where the cotton plant is almost perennial, and to which no country on the face of the earth is superior in the production of coffee, sugar, cotton

cochinal, and the other valuable tropical productions. Then there are Honduras and the Bay Islands, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and New Granada, including the provinces of Chiriqui, Veraguas, Cartagena, Santa Martha, and Rio Hacha. There, too, is the beautiful valley of the Magdalena river, just across the Gulf of Mexico, inviting these people to come to its bosom by millions upon millions, capable of sustaining them and giving them successful employment. There is Venezuela, too, with a thousand miles of coast below the Caribbean sea. I saw the other day our minister lately returned from Venezuela, I conversed with him in relation to that country, and on this very subject. He informed me that for a thousand miles on that coast is a rich and fertile country, indented with beautiful bays and harbors, and capable of producing, in coffee, cotton, and sugar, more than almost any other country in the world. It stands to-day, I believe, only fourth in the production of coffee.

Mr. President, some would force on at once the emancipation of this whole population, and at the same time and in the same breath scout all ideas of aiding them in colonization or emigration. Upon the other hand, there are others who would force the colonization of every free negro from the slave States, and who scout all attempts even to consider the question of emancipation at all. I have no sympathy with the idea of banishing any people; but I do favor the ideas both of emancipation and colonization. Each will aid the other, and each is to the other the best *practical means* to aid it. Sir, I would inscribe high upon the banner which I would follow, "*a generous homestead policy for both races, black and white. Homesteads for free white men in all the temperate territories of the United States; homesteads for free colored men in the tropics and the islands of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean sea.*" I would, by treaty arrangements with those States, endeavor to build up, as we could very easily do, free commercial relations, relying upon the manufactures and productions which we export to those countries but light duties, obtaining, perhaps, in consideration of the aid we give them, by planting colonies of our people among them, a provision that for a given number of years, say five years or ten years, colonists from this country should be permitted to receive, in the United States, free of all duties, all our productions and our manufactures, *thus laying the foundation* for another market for all the productions of the Mississippi valley and the manufacturing of the East, in exchange for the sugar and coffee of those countries.

Such a commerce, once begun, would of itself make the colonization of this people free, voluntary, and self-sustaining. Our ships would go loaded with emigrants, and return loaded with tropical productions. I believe that in so doing we may be instrumental, under the providence of Almighty God, in laying the foundation of an empire there, a great republic to be composed of these people and their descendants, and of the people already there who stand ready and willing and anxious to receive them as a part of themselves, who after a few generations will contain a hundred millions of human beings; a republic

which shall be in the tropics what this Republic is in the temperate zone of the North American continent; a republic which, if it shall grow up under our protection, will be a support against foreign intervention, and feel bound to us by interest, gratitude, and friendship forever. Although not a part of our territorial dominion, they will be within our commercial dominion. Sir, when we can have free commercial relations with a nation which immediately adjoins us, where we will send all our products and manufactures, with light duties upon them, and receive theirs in return, it is a practical annexation for all commercial purposes to the Government of the United States. It is as good and better for us than if we should own the sovereignty of the territory, and be at the expense and trouble of governing it.

Sir, although all our political relations were severed with Great Britain by the Revolution, are we not to-day still her best commercial customer? If the tie which binds Canada to Great Britain were severed to-morrow, and if she should unite her destiny with the United States, would not Canada still continue to be one of the best customers of Great Britain? Sir, those rich countries lying at our feet, just below the mouth of the Mississippi, although outside of our territorial jurisdiction, if filled up with emigrants from the United States, would be practically of us. They would remain our customers and our producers forever. I believe that to build up the commercial interests of this country, its agricultural interests, its manufacturing interests, the expenditure of a comparatively small sum of money each year in the negotiation of treaties, in opening up the way, in, perhaps, establishing lines of steamships between the United States and the countries just upon our border, would be not only wise, but that it would be repaid in the end ten, if not a hundred fold. Besides, sir, the expenditure of money for the purpose of enlarging our commerce with foreign countries is clearly

#### CONSTITUTIONAL.

It is within the express grants of power, and is sanctioned by the long established precedents of expending money in the removal of Indians.

In seeking for the constitutional power to compensate for the value of slaves incorporated within the States there is more difficulty. But I believe that will be avoided when the States having slaves come to act upon the question of their emancipation by following the examples of Pennsylvania and other States, making that emancipation prospective and gradual, and thus avoid the question of compensation, leaving the whole amount to be expended in aid of their colonization, and in that manner this Government can most effectually aid the States in the great work of emancipation.

At the risk of apparent repetition, I repeat, I would have that *colonization* not *hasty*. If compulsory, it is slavery still. Besides, sir, I would have the most enterprising, the most intelligent and aspiring among that people lead the way. I have been addressed by many of that class on this subject. They thank me for frankly speaking out the truth, and for stating the true relation in which they stand to the Caucasian race here in this country. They thank me for what I have done

in my amendment to the bill emancipating slaves in this District, that I was not only for giving them emancipation and freedom, but was for giving them and to go to a country in which they could aspire to and hope to attain a position of social, civil, and political equality which they never hope to have in this country, even in New England.

Mr. President, I will repeat again, in order that I may not be misunderstood nor misreported either, I am opposed to compulsory colonization. I look upon that as a species of slavery itself, as adding one wrong to another. I believe, also, that if made compulsory, colonization would be far less effective in producing the good results of which I have spoken than if it were made voluntary, and far less beneficial to the colored race.

Mr. President, my views on this subject are not the growth of a day or a year. They have been the result of many years of earnest thought on the subject, in all its bearings. It is the great problem of America. I agree with the Senator from New Hampshire in that. It is the great problem presented to the American statesman, and a problem which he must meet, which he cannot avoid. It may have been forced upon me, more especially within the last five years, because of my position upon the Committee on Indian Affairs; it has been a constant, every-day duty to consider in that committee the best mode in which we of the Caucasian race here on this continent shall deal with the Indian race to save even its remnants from destruction. Sir, wherever we look we behold that race dwindling at the presence of the white man, as the snows are melted and disappear in spring time. This Government has been engaged in one continued struggle; it has expended millions upon millions to preserve the Indian race, to provide for its support, to take care of it, to prevent the selfishness and cupidity and often criminal misconduct of the white man towards it. Upon this subject I have had put into my hands, and I will ask the Secretary to read a letter from Keokuk, the chief of the Sac Indians in Kansas, to the Great Father, the President of the United States in Washington, to which I ask the attention of the Senate, as to a statement as eloquent as it is simple, giving the condition of his tribe, and his hopes and his fears as to the future.

The Secretary read, as follows:

*Keokuk, Chief of the Sac Indians, in Kansas, to the Great Father, the President, at Washington:*

I am a chief; my father was a chief before me. He is dead. He long had the care of our people. It now devolves upon me. Their welfare is very dear to me. I look over our waning numbers with pain and melancholy forebodings. I look for the causes of this decay, and seek a remedy; but so far I have sought in vain. As a last hope I appeal to you.

It is well known that in 1822 the Sac Indians made war upon the whites, and were defeated. After the war we made a treaty with our Great Father. That treaty we have faithfully kept. So has our Great Father. We do not complain of him. We complain to him. He gave us a plenty of land in Kansas, twenty miles wide by thirty four long, and much money—\$1,000 a year for ten years, and \$51,000 per year ever since. And now our land is to be sold to pay unpaid claims, amounting to \$15,000 more.

All this is in money more than I know how to speak, but it would be all the same if it were more or if it were less. The

Great Father intended it to refresh us like a spring, and make us grow and increase. But it runs through the hands of agents and traders, and is absorbed as a sandy plain absorbs the water from the mountain. We were not refreshed. We complained. The agents were dismissed and now ones appointed. It was all the same. My people lived in temporary dwellings, in wigwags and tents. They died from diseases brought on by exposure and want.

We have lived in Kansas eighteen years. We have had nine agents, all alike. They are agents for themselves, not for us. My people do not number one half that came here after the war. The agents are supercilious and proud. They treat us like dogs. My people are discouraged and drink too much. They have lost their self-respect. The agents do not listen to the chiefs and head men are unwell. They listen only to the traders. When some new plan is devised to get the Indians' money a council is called. If the chiefs and head men do not approve, they then take some weak-minded Indian and make him a chief, and so go as they please. They bribe him. In this manner they divide the Indians and make them act against each other. If the Great Father in his wisdom could send us a better plan we should be glad. We want a change. We want all the traders to go away. We do not want any agent with such powers as he now has. We want our chiefs and head men in council to decide many things. Now they do nothing. The most trifling choice is denied us. We have our preference for a blacksmith. This has never been granted us, and is not now. We think it best to dispense with a gunsmith; this we are not allowed to do. We need a waggon and plow maker, but are not allowed to employ one. We are anxious to commence farming, but we cannot afford our own means. We are like a fly in a spider's web. The agents and traders have our feet entangled and we cannot get out. We are living poor and in poverty, with a sum of over four hundred thousand acres of land, and an annual income of \$1,000 per year.

Let us have a voice in its management. The results cannot be worse. They may be better. We cannot live any poorer. We cannot die any faster. We cannot suffer any more. As things now are we are prevented from making any effort. We have families like white men; we have ambition also. Our faculties are not exceeded; our ambition is not gratified. The agents and traders call my people all names; they disgrace our name and nation. We are conscious of this, and many weak-minded men lose their pride of character and of race. I am proud of my name. I am proud of my race. I am no longer the enemy of the white man. I belong to one of many tribes over which the Great Father rules. We are friends. Our people are friends. We wish to be treated as friends and equals by the white man, and not as enemies and dogs.

Our goods can be sent to us and distributed under the supervision of the Indian council.

A man can be employed to fit our boys and young men with pants and shirts, suitable to the change which we anticipate preparatory to school and work.

There are many things which we need to change our condition, which our Great Father will think of better than I. I am done.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. President, I allowed the whole of this paper to be read, not as a part of my speech, but that it may go upon the record. I may desire to use it upon another occasion upon another subject. It discloses the same facts which appear in the statement of the Bishop of Minnesota in relation to the Indians of that State, and in the statements of all who give any information to the President or the Department of the Interior or to the Committee on Indian Affairs. This performance of my public duties here may have forced upon my mind the consideration of the question of the relations which the different races bear to each other. For five years past upon the Committee on Indian Affairs, my attention has been constantly drawn to the condition of the dealings of the whites with the Indians. As cognate to that, my mind has been forced to study the relations we bear to the African race also. I have seen some of the slave States passing laws to lash all

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